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along with Bove (g):244, that "every Fuegian family lives in the utmost independence" /translated from Italian/. This independence, however, is never so great, as is maintained in Outes (g):58, "that the father cannot threaten his child nor give him direct orders" /translated from Spanish/.

A second prominent feature of the Fuegian family is its patriarchal tendency. The latter is clearly recognizable, although by only a few indications; yet there is neither a law of inheritance nor clan formations with special demands and obligations. Nevertheless, the father is and remains the head of the whole family, even though, through the division of labor, his wife has an independent field of activity, and he therefore rarely asserts his slightly superior power. Martial:196 describes this lawful relationship as follows: "Authority in the family belongs to the father; wife and children obey him. His authority, however, is very weak and is exercised only in case of necessity" /translated from French/. Each of the two partners can freely [421] dispose of his or her special property. Nevertheless, the care and responsibility for common possessions or for family property fall on the man. He gives the ultimate decision on matters of some importance for the family members, and all of them yield to his words. If he dies, his older brother must take charge of the wife and children he leaves behind, and this is a universally lawful obligation. This patriarchal tendency in Fuegian family organization is not expressed in name-giving, but since here the name is taken from the place of birth (p. 536), there is no real connection.

2. The Circle of Relatives

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In the tribal society of our Yamana every individual family is an independent, self-contained structure. In contrast to this, relatives are a loose aggregate of all those who are joined by the ties of consanguinity. According to Fuegian ideas, persons are related to each other only if they can trace their origins to some

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612 common ancestors, no matter whether this is through the paternal or maternal line (218). Through marriage, /783/ adoption, and

218. Bridges (i):21 also points to the equality of both lines: "Whilst children belonged to the clan of their father yet their mother's relations were equally dear to them, as their father's and they were equally bound to befriend and defend them and to avenge their wrongs" /cited in English/. Elsewhere (k):235 he emphasizes that "relatives on the maternal side were regarded as highly as those on the paternal side" /translated from Spanish/.

so forth, a close connection is established between the persons concerned, but not kinship. The prohibition against a conjugal union of persons in whose veins flows blood of the same ancestry is quite universal.

582 612 What Bridges (h):205 has maintained on this subject stands without qualification: "They [the Yamana] never marry anyone related by blood, however distant it may be" /translated from Spanish/. They show a definite aversion toward the conjugal union of persons who may be regarded in any way as relatives by blood (p. 421). A brother-in-law and sister-in-law are not regarded as blood relatives; hence the precept for levirate marriage does not encounter any difficulty from this quarter (p. 413). On the same grounds it is permissible for a man to marry two sisters and take both into his hut simultaneously (p. 418). It is not permissible, however, to marry a widow and her daughter at the same time, because if the man marries the former, he must fulfill the proper paternal obligations toward the latter (p. 423).

It would obviously lead to misunderstanding to speak of a spatial limitation of consanguinity. Actually, most families who belong together stay within the same area, and a goodly number of the persons forming a local group are related to one another. For that very reason, the young man or the girl chooses a marriage partner in the neighboring region, so that with marriage many a person leaves his circle of relatives and joins another local group.

582 /783 cont./
612 Though he may then spend the rest of his life there, he remains bound as a blood relative to the family from which he sprang.

601 In order to be sure about mutual connections, the Yamana language furnishes very exact designations even for distant degrees of kinship. These are, of course, just as familiar to everyone as are words for articles of daily use. Hyades (p):334 writes: "Kinship is recognized even to the fourth or fifth degree" /translated from French/. Although our Indian is not painfully exact in counting, nevertheless he knows how to determine a relationship that sometimes goes back to remote degrees and that finally can be established only by the fact that the families have been together locally for a long time.

612 Kinship, however, does not operate merely in a negative sense
571 by making marriage impossible; far beyond that it commands mutual aid and assistance. Lawfully the individual family depends upon itself, but there is no arrangement to guarantee it legal protection. It would be at the mercy of a stronger one if it did not find protection and support through its blood relatives (219).

219. Bove (c):130 and (g):234 writes: "Only the necessity for common defense forces some families to unite into a single tribe /tribu/, but no one has the right to put himself at the head and to meddle in another's affairs" /translated from Spanish/. The expression "tribu" here can mean only a community of kinsmen.

A family that was merely friendly would not be close enough /784/ to be a safe refuge in every case of need. Blood ties, on the other hand, are never dissolved and retain their strength. Hence every one notes very carefully all the persons who are related to him, both closely and more distantly. He assures himself of their help by frequent visits and by repeatedly asking other people about them. He especially seeks them out and calls upon them urgently if he is threatened by the hostility of others or if he expects a sudden attack. These are the social connections that everyone cultivates (220)

220. These connections were described much too briefly by Spegazzini (a):165.

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612 571 according to his own free choice or the distressing situation he happens to be in.

Sociability is also a factor here, affecting one person more 612 than another among a circle of intimates. No one has a privi- 571 leged position established by law. For logical reasons young peo- 554 ple naturally bow to the moral superiority of experienced old men or capable younger men, but if something does not suit a person, he leaves inconspicuously and goes his own way until further developments.

Everyone likes to obtain the counsel and decisions of an older relative. A person who has cultivated his connections with his kinsfolk and has honored them can always count on help and support. If one's kinsfolk are numerous and include men who are held in esteem, his own self-importance is thereby considerably increased and his confidence reinforced. He likes to boast of his far-flung, mighty kinsfolk on whose protection he can count. One's own relatives are, of course, more privileged and more highly honored than other guests, and everyone knows it is his duty to hasten to the aid of a relative who is in distress and threatened by enemies, to avenge the wrong done to him, and actively to intercede for him everywhere. Family honor demands all this, and everyone esteems it highly. Thus, the individual always finds protection and justice among his kinsfolk in any affliction.

3. Kinship Terms

601 Although the individual family is lawfully completely independent, nevertheless it sometimes finds itself dependent on relatives. Consequently everyone is surprisingly familiar with his family connection with anyone else. This probably was not a causal factor in the origin of the many kinship terms, but it is certain that an adult Indian has a mastery of these designations and uses them surprisingly accurately. Immediately upon /785/ the birth of a child and during its first few months of life, the family discusses its relationship to all the closer and more distant kinsmen who make up the family's circle (221).

221. Despard (b):698 refers to this as follows:

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178 634 together. Since 1880 a particularly strong movement in this direction set in. According to Hyades ( ):718, Bridges noted the effect of this in June, 1884: "The Yahgan are now so much more coalesced that they form only a single colony" /translated from French/. Obviously Bridges would like his readers to believe that a change for the better had been brought about among these natives under the influence of the Anglican mission. He was mistaken. Furthermore, Hyades (ℓ):721 raised the justifiable objection against Bridges' assertion by pointing out that the Yamana "were formerly divided into tribes that were hostile or antipathetic toward one another" /translated from French/. This is not to deny [578] that occasionally disputes and hostilities were carried on between individual families of the same local group (230).

> 230. From his most recent experience Bove (e):158 reported: "The inhabitants of the east (Picton Island) and those from Adduvia (New Year Sound) still [since the founding of the mission station in Ushuwaia] fought with each other frequently, and often enough the sad news of deeds of violence, murder and insults reaches the Mission."

571 612 /801/ The association of the five dialect groups is very tenuous (231), that of the local groups within each dialect group

> 231. This is probably what Aspinall:270 means when he says: "Despite the lack of closer ties of tribal society, one notices among them many expressions of true affection and deeper concern."

is somewhat less so, and that of the families of each circle of relatives who in their totality form the local group is truly strong. There is, of course, overlapping, insofar as a person has blood relatives in more than one local group. It is well known (p. 607) that in itself the circle of relatives is neither a definitely ordered structure nor a specifically organized system. For some the blood

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571 ties are stronger, for others weaker, although the bond is as strong
612 as Nature herself can make it. In analyzing the kinship group, we see revealed the one and only complete social structure which rests firmly upon itself, namely, the individual family. It forms a small state by itself (232).

232. Hyades (g):35 has attempted the following explanation: "Their uncontrollable urge for independence does not let the Fuegians achieve an organization beyond that of the family in the narrowest sense. Everyone is thrown back upon himself alone." Barclay (a):64 maintains of the Yamana that "he owns no faith, religion, or tribal tie other than that of the family which huddles together for food and sustenance" /cited in English/.

571 It is altogether compatible with the character of our Fuegians that the five dialect groups among themselves cultivate peaceful relations throughout. This is even more true of the local groups and most of all of the families making up the circle of kinsfolk (233).

233. It is incomprehensible to me how Bridges (h):205 could express the following monstrous opinion: "Their continual offenses against their friends and neighbors keep the community in a chronic state of uneasiness and violence. There are few who do not show scars, and deaths often occur as a result of quarrels" /translated from Spanish/. This assertion is in clear contrast with many other judgments which Bridges himself set forth.

Each day is more or less filled with the hunt for food. Not much time remains for intrigues and quarreling. The members of the family group, more than the members of the local group and much more than those of the dialect group, are on occasion dependent upon one another in various matters, and they would not willfully or carelessly spoil their relationship with those whose

586 second wife. Desertion was more frequent on the man's part than on the woman's.

888 The aged were, according to all dependable evidence, usually respected, well treated, and well cared for. Neither abandonment or killing of the aged was ordinarily practiced but may have occurred in exceptional cases.

621 Political life.—Over and above the biological family there was no closely organized larger group or constituted authority. There were no sibs, secret or other societies, or social classes, and no chiefs or ruling group or caste of any kind. Each biological family was for most practical purposes a sovereign political unit. The sense of individual independence was deep. No man took or brooked orders
555 or dictation from any other. However, aggressive individuals of personal force and strength, especially if they had powerful kin backing, at times dominated. Older men of recognized intelligence and integrity exercised considerable moral influence.

612 The next group to the biological family was the kinship group, mostly a paternal one. The members gave mutual aid where called for, particularly in feuds and in blood-revenge activities. The kinship group, owing to common patrilocal residence, was partly, but not fully localized.

619 The five regional divisions of the *Yahgan*, each with its distinctive dialect, had very slight political significance. Members of one division were usually chary of trespassing, at least for long, upon the territory of any other division, unless there were a recognized good cause, such as grave shortage of food, partaking of a stranded whale, trading, gathering canoe bark or fire-making materials.

621 Each of the five dialectic regions was broken up into local groups, each of which appears to have been composed, mostly at least, of members related by blood or marriage (Koppers, 1926 b, p. 5). Each such local group had its own territory—that of Ushuaia, for instance, occupied 20 miles (32 km.) of coast line on Beagle Channel—and its own name derived from its locality. Like the dialectic groups,
[622] these local groups had no chiefs. The local group's chief function was that of holding the čiéxaus initiation rite. The leader chosen
[881] therefor had authority only so long as the rite lasted. As the čiéxaus rite was an educational device contributing greatly to social conformity and solidarity, the local group's political function was chiefly an indirect pedagogical one. Loyalty to fellow members of a local group existed, but was not as strong as that to one's own kinship group.

628 There was no organized process of judicial procedure. In case
[682] of murder, the victim's kin took blood revenge on the murderer or his kin, or settled with him or them by composition. At times such kinship feuds led to a sort of pitched battle, in which slings,